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TO

LORD HOWICK,

On his Bill for sending the Working People away from England.

Kensington, 5th April, 1831.

MY LORD,

IT was my determination never again to write any-thing addressed to *a lord*, until the Parliament should be reformed and the boroughmongers swept away. Those things being in effect now done, I not only return to all those feelings of respect, which, before I understood the nature of boroughmongering, I entertained towards the order of nobility; but I am rather anxious to show that I entertain that respect in a degree full as high as if I were totally unconscious of the possession of any quantity of knowledge or of talent not common to the general mass of the people; knowing, as I do, that to maintain that order which is necessary to the peace and happiness of a nation, we must not insist too rigidly on our right to award respect without any regard to the wealth or the rank of its object. If the Reform Bill, which will for ever stand recorded along with the honourable mention of the name of your father; if this Reform Bill had been brought into Parliament on the 28th of February instead of the 1st of March, my Address to the Labourers, contained in Two-penny Trash of the 1st of March, which was also published in the Register of the 12th of March, and which treated of your Bill, would have been different from what it now is, not in substance, but in tone and manner; because I should then have been satisfied, that though you were in error upon the subject, the intentions of the Ministry were not cruel, nor in any respects bad. We have a right to act thus; and, indeed, common sense dictates such a line of conduct. I now address you as a Member of a Ministry who mean well and justly; but knowing you to be in error as to this matter, it is my duty to show that you are in error; and this I shall do, and I hope to your entire conviction.

When you consider how invariably events have, for rather more than a quarter of a century, proved me to have been correct in my opinions, though those opinions are in direct opposition to *every* public writer and *every* public speaker of the day; you will not, I hope, deem it very great presumption if I expect you to listen to me attentively now. Numerous are the letters which I have publicly addressed to your father during that quarter of a century. Amongst the first of those letters, addressed to him when he bore the title which you now bear, and when he was sitting in the house in which you now sit; in one of those letters, drawn forth from me, in consequence of his having taken the part of the profligate SHERIDAN (whom he always abhorred), and of his having spoken harshly of our exertions to keep him out of Westminster, and having, in answer to my charge against him for being in office *without proposing a parliamentary reform*, taken occasion to observe, that time had made a considerable alteration in his opinions upon that subject; in this letter, addressed to him under these circumstances, I said many ill-natured things, by no means necessary now to repeat, but I also said, "My Lord HOWICK, you and I are about "of an age, and if we both live to be "old, I shall see you *return to and act* "*upon your former opinions*, or see you "much too small and insignificant a man "to be thought worthy of ever having "been addressed by me in this public "manner." He was then forty-four years of age, and I was forty-one. He

is now sixty-eight and I am sixty-five. We are both old men, and to the honour of us both, and to the happiness and honour of our country, this prediction is fulfilled by the existence of the former alternative: your father has returned to his former opinions; he has manfully acted upon those opinions; and he is deemed, and justly deemed, the greatest benefactor of his country that that country has known for many ages past.

Now, my Lord, here is quite enough to make what I am writing worthy of your best attention; and you will please to observe that my great admiration of your father's conduct with regard to the Reform, ought to have and will have no effect at all with me, relative to other measures of his ministry, whether they consist of acts of commission or of omission. I must exercise my own judgment too, with regard to the *time* when I shall offer my opinions respecting those other measures; the only difference in this respect being, that I now, for the first time, after seeing out ten prime ministers, see one in power on whose sincerity I place confident reliance, of whose wish to produce good to the country I entertain the firmest conviction, and whose measures therefore (for they all are and must be his measures) I shall treat, as long as these my convictions shall continue, in a manner very different from that which it has been my right and indeed my bounden duty, to treat the measures of his ten predecessors.

It is under the impression of a disposition like this that I now proceed to address you on the Bill which you have brought into the House of Commons, the object of which bill is to cause a part of the working people of England to be *sent away out of the country*. This bill is a legacy, or heir-loom, which you are so unfortunate as to inherit from Wilmot Horton, your predecessor in office, whose two names give the names to two townships, as they are whimsically called, comprising districts of rock and swamp, in the miserable, but scandalously expensive colony of Nova Scotia, which is held by England for no other apparent purpose than that of assisting to grind down into starvation those very English labourers of which it is the object of your Bill to get rid.

I have perceived, and have perceived it with sorrow, that your Lordship appears to be rather sharply bitten with the Scotch *feelosophy*, and, which is a much more serious matter, that your father seems not to have wholly escaped the effects of this *feelosophy*. This Bill is the Bill of Horton; and, in fact, the work of the speculators and land-jobbers in the miserable and worthless colonies. Let me, therefore, say a word or two on the veracity and on the candour of this Horton. With regard to the former, he, about eighteen months or two years ago, published a pamphlet in which he stated, on what he called good authority, that the whole of the population of England and Wales, in the reign of Elizabeth, amounted to no more than NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOULS. In the *Register*, I proved, at the time, the audacity of this falsehood, by showing, first from the book of Spellman, and next from the notoriety of the facts, that the nobility, the clergy, the lawyers, the members of corporate bodies, the churchwardens and overseers, the constables and other peace officers, together with the court and its attendants, the army and the navy, and the mere necessary menial servants of the nobility, the clergy and the gentlemen, must have amounted to more than the whole number of persons, including their women and children; to *more than the whole number which this* Wilmot, *in a pamphlet published in his own name, gave as the population of England and Wales at that time.*

So much for the veracity of the man whose Bill has been handed over to you. Now for his candour. He is a perfect zealot in the cause of sending the people away. Not content with his works with the pen and with his speeches in Parliament, he, in the excess of his zeal, condescended to turn lecturer upon the subject; aye, and to lecture at the theatre of the *Mechanics' Institute* too, which had, at one time,

been the scene of my holdings forth. Your Lordship remembers the *Ass* in the Fable, which, seeing the spaniel so much caressed, when he put his paws up into the lap of his master, took it into his head, that he might play the same pranks with similar success; and doubtless you, as well as other boys, have laughed at the cudgelling which the ignorant brute received as the reward of his folly and his impudence. Much about the same, figuratively instead of literally, would, in this case, have been the fate of your predecessor and Mentor, HORTON, if his hide had not been shielded by the Scotch tricksters who managed the concerns of the Mechanics' Institute. HORTON, in his *lectures* on emigration, had said, that it was perfectly useless for him and the other friends of humanity to endeavour to promote schemes of emigration, as long as CERTAIN WRITINGS (describing *mine* very fully) *were suffered to be circulated.* A report of his lecture having been published, I applied to the managers of the concerns of the Institute to hire their theatre, as I formerly had done, and to pay them their price as I had done before. My intention was to answer Horton; but the cunning Scotch crew, who had wriggled themselves into the complete control of the affair, objected, on the ground that the committee had adopted a resolution not to let the theatre *for the purpose of lecturing on politics!*

So much for the candour of HORTON, the disinterested Horton, who is now said to have been rewarded with a governorship worth eight thousand pounds a year. But I despise the efforts of the Scotch crew. I rely upon my own means; and WILMOT was right enough when he said that no such project could succeed as long as my writings were suffered to circulate. Sensible TREVOR said that the House of Commons could not stand *if the Register were not put down*; and he was right enough too; for *that House*, thanks to your father and to this sensible nation who have stood firmly at his back, is not to stand any longer, and the Register is not put down, and will not be put down. WILMOT was right enough; for the emigration projects will not succeed, and cannot succeed, and shall not succeed; and the REGISTER, and the EMIGRANT'S GUIDE (price two shillings and sixpence), and the TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 9, dated on the 1st of March, do circulate, and will circulate, in spite of Horton and all the Scotch crews upon the face of the earth.

But, my Lord, addressing myself to you with that sort of feeling which I ought to entertain towards a son of your father, it becomes me to show you that no project of this sort ought to succeed. That is what I propose to prove to you; and if I do prove it, I shall hope to hear no more of bills of this sort. And, my Lord, let me stop here to beg you to be persuaded, that there is no dishonour in acknowledging an error; that there is no degradation in suffering oneself to be instructed as to any matter by a person who happens to understand it better than ourselves; and that nothing is more despicable than that obstinacy, the basis of which is false pride. How much, great God! has England suffered from this one cause! From absolute power being lodged in the hands of those who, from pride, have obstinately rejected measures merely because they were suggested by me!

The Bill which you have brought in is to authorise a mortgaging of the poor-rates of the several parishes in England and Wales for a certain number of years, if a certain proportion of the rate-payers shall agree to such mortgage. The money thus raised is to be applied to defraying the expense of sending to the colonies such of the labouring people as may choose to go thither. They are not to be compelled to go; but if they go, and return to their native land again, they are to be deprived of all claim to parochial relief, in case of need, whatever their necessities may be. In addition to these there is a provision, as I understand it, authorising the government or persons deputed by it, to enter into contracts with landowners in the horrible countries of New South Wales, which contracts are

to give them *security for the labour of the emigrants for a certain time*, on condition of the said landowners bearing part of the expense of the said emigration.

Now, my Lord, not having the bill before me, I do not know that I accurately describe its provisions; and, indeed, I hope do not; for the idea of making bondmen of Englishmen, and in countries too under the command of military governors, and the other idea of cutting them off for ever from the right to demand parochial relief, are things so horrible that I trust they never were seriously entertained by any man of English birth. The truth is, that no consideration can have been bestowed upon these parts of the bill. Where is there to be found the *power* of *securing* to a planter the labour of the emigrant? And as to the condition of the exclusion from *parochial relief for life*, it is an absurdity. No man can divest himself of his *right to exist*; and there are *his children*. Will you cut these off too? These, if the *parents be English*, are natural subjects of this realm, whether born in England, in the colonies, or even in a *foreign state*. They owe all the duties, and possess all the rights, of subjects. If some of these children were to come back, or, having been born in the colonies, or in foreign parts, were to come to England, would you deny them the *rights* of subjects, and would you still claim their *allegiance*, and impose *its duties* upon them? Would you allow them to go into foreign armies and *fight against England*, and, if taken, not be considered guilty of high treason?

In short these provisions never can be acted upon; they must be nugatory; and, therefore, I leave them out of the question, and shall examine the project merely as a project for getting rid of a part of the working people of England. And here such a mass of observations crowd forward for preference in the work of destroying this project in its birth, that one hardly knows which to choose to begin with; and one finds it absolutely necessary to bring them under classes, which, however, I shall endeavour to do by stating the propositions upon which the emigration projectors have always proceeded. These propositions are, 1. That the working people of this country are in a state of great misery, arising from inadequate employment: 2. That this want of a sufficiency of employment arises from the vast increase in the number of the working people: 3. That, therefore, in order to diminish the quantity of misery amongst the working people, their numbers ought to be diminished by sending a part of them away from the country.

With regard to the first of these propositions, it is perfectly true, that the working people are in a state of great misery; and that, too, from a want of employment; but the want of employment does not, as stated in the second proposition, arise from an increase of numbers in the working people, or, as it has been generally called, a surplus population existing in the country; but from the want of means in the employers to give adequate wages to the working people without ruin to themselves. Several witnesses examined by the House of Commons have stated, what indeed is a notorious fact, that the land is not nearly so well cultivated as it ought to be; that the stocks on the farms have been gradually diminishing for years; that the farmers could employ a great many men more than they do employ; but that so much has been taken away from them in taxes, in one shape and another, that they have been compelled either to be ruined themselves, or to pinch the working people half to death, and still to leave a great part of the work undone. My Lord, your father will now reside, and I hope he will very long reside, at Walmer Castle, in the county of Kent. Near that castle is a little parish called Waldershare; and in that parish there lives a farmer of the name of BOYS, who, as one of the greatest farmers and cleverest men in that county, was examined before SLANEY'S committee of 1828. Turn to his evidence, my Lord, and then turn to *the report* of Slaney and his committee; and you will see that

the committee took special care to take no notice that there was not one man too many to work upon the land; that the land was not so well cultivated as it ought to be; that a great deal of work was left undone upon the land, while forty young men in the parish were drawing gravel like beasts of burden to make the highways smooth for the rich to ride on. He will find that the committee said not a word about this in the report; and you will find that the sole object of this committee appears to have been to confirm the doctrine of the brutal MALTHUS; namely, that there were too many people in the country, *produced in consequence of the women having children when too young.* A reformed Parliament will contain committees differently constituted; it will contain committees composed of others than sinecurists, pensioners, and placemen, either in possession or expectancy; they will consist after a very short time, at any rate, of crowds of such men as Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, Mr. SCOLEFIELD, Mr. CHARLES JONES (to speak of one town only); and be you assured, my Lord, that committees thus composed will very soon find *other causes* for the misery of the working people than "*surplus population*" and "*premature marriages.*"

But, to return to Walmer Castle; when residing there, if your father will send to Mr. BOYS and have him to dine with him, *as* PITT *used to do with regard to* Mr. BOYS' *father;* if he would do this two or three times, when he is at leisure, he would learn more in the space of two or three hours, relative to the real causes of the misery of the working people, than he would learn during his whole life-time from the people that dance attendance at Whitehall, and from the swarms of greedy Scotch place-hunters by whom he will now be beset; and that Mr. BOYS may not suffer from the supposition that he is a disciple of mine, I think it right to say, as far as I know, I never saw him in my life, and I am sure I never had any communication with him in my life, directly or indirectly, verbal or written. I know nothing of him but from his evidence before mentioned, and from the history of his father, as related to me by gentlemen in Kent. In his evidence, however, you have the true cause of the *want of employment.* Plenty of other witnesses have said the same before committees of the House. Every farmer will tell you the same at every market in England; your own eyes will tell you the same, if you look over the hedges, see the grassy hedge-rows creeping out wider and wider into the fields; see the beds of couch-grass, where there used to be clean fallows in the months of May and June; see the hop-gardens poked about with ploughs and harrows and scarifiers instead of being neatly cultivated by hand; and see, as the consequence, the hop-poles, from ten to twelve feet high, instead of being from sixteen to twenty, as they were forty years ago; if you open your eyes, and see the rick-steddles rotting, and the rick-yard turned into a potatoe patch; if you look at the flocks and herds, you will see not a single hog a year old, except kept for the purposes of breeding; throughout a whole county, you will not find a score of full-monthed wether sheep, where there used to be thousands of scores of such sheep; rarely will you see an ox of proper age. And while you behold the fields and the hop-gardens and the homesteads in this state, while you hear them all crying aloud for more hands, you see the highways lined with those hands levelling hills and cracking stones, making what is called improvements in the country.

These are, however, facts that you may dispute, if you choose, and to them you may prefer the doctrines of MALTHUS and the Scotch crew. But, there are, respecting "*surplus population,*" certain facts which you cannot dispute. You have, I dare say, read, with a very willing mind, what MALTHUS calls his principle of population. I will not enter into that, but beg leave to refer you to the answer which MR. GODWIN gave to the book of MALTHUS, which answer convicts the impudent parson of ignorance and falsehood, both the most complete. Both books are of a price

to be within the reach of none but the comparatively rich. The rich, nine tenths of whom live on the taxes in one shape or another, being compelled to confess that the working people are in a state of great misery, from inadequate wages and want of employment, *seek out for something other than the weight of taxes to throw the blame on*! I pray you to mark this, my Lord; Malthus was just their man. He found out a cause for the misery other than the taxes; and, Scotchman to the back-bone, he found out that the cause was the misconduct of the working people themselves, in marrying too young and having too many children! It is quite impossible for words to express the indignation due to this blasphemous doctrine. Malthus, of course, became a great favourite with the tax-eating rich, not ten of whom, I dare say, ever read the able and excellent production of Mr. Godwin. Malthus proposed to lop off, at once, parish relief from those who married young, and the blundering parson said that he would leave them to find relief from the *law of nature*, which, he said, bade them to refrain from marrying or to starve. The parson seems to have had no idea of the *other* commands of the law of nature! The parliament, however, had a little too much sense to think of referring the people to the law of nature for relief; and, therefore, after divers fruitless expedients, finding that the people will have food and raiment while they are here, up comes the scheme for sending them out of their country.

In order to render this project apparently proper, we have been pestered eternally with the following assertions. 1. That the country is a great deal more populous *than it was in former times*. 2. That the population of England and Wales has increased *two millions and a half* in the *twenty years*, from 1801 to 1821, and that it will naturally go on increasing at the same rate if not *checked*: 3. That there are a great many too many of the working people in this country.

When my Geographical Dictionary of England and Wales shall come out of that press in which it now is, and to get it into which has cost a mass of labour, such as I would never have undertaken if I had known what it was; when that book shall come forth, your Lordship will learn from it a great many things, and particularly the following facts. 1. That there are at this time (after all the unions of parishes, which makes the number nearly *four thousand less* than it was before the reformation), there are now 251 parishes, in which the churches have been suffered to tumble down and wholly disappear. 2. That there are at this time 986 parishes, the population in every one of which parishes, including all the souls in it, amounts to less than 100 persons. 4. That there are out of the 11,703 parishes in England and Wales 3000 parishes, the *average* population of which amounts to less than 150 souls. 5. That, as to the present population of England, as asserted on the foundation of the Parliamentary returns, I have proved that either the first or the second return must be a falsehood. 6. But that if the three returns be true, England will contain a hundred million of souls by the end of the present century. 7. And that, if those three returns be true, and nature has always been the same that it is now, the Adam and Eve of England must have begun to stock the country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 8. That, with regard to the assertion that there are now *too many labouring people in England* (which is the most important assertion of all), your Lordship will learn from my book, that there are, on an average of all the counties of England and Wales, *forty-three acres of land to every single able labourer in agriculture*. 9. That in the fertile county of Devon there are thirty-one acres of land to every grown-up labourer, including all within the age of fifteen and of sixty; that, in the fat county of Lincoln, with hardly an inch of waste land, there are forty-one acres to each labourer; that in Norfolk, there are thirty-two acres; and that in Suffolk, there are thirty-six to one able labourer; that in the garden county of

Kent, there are twenty acres to each able labourer; and that even in Bedfordshire, with scarcely one single inch of waste land, and the land being in general the richest in the whole kingdom, there are still twenty-three acres of land to every able labourer in agriculture.

Now, if these facts of mine be true, and I defy any man to prove the falsehood of them or to question their perfect correctness; if these facts of mine be true, does your Lordship think, that such men as THOMAS ATTWOOD will give their consent to a mortgage being imposed upon the houses and the land of England, in order to send away the most able and enterprising part of the working people? Does your Lordship imagine, that such men, who will be blinded by no pensions, sinecures, expectances, or fund-jobbing, will think that the country suffers from there being so many as one labourer in agriculture to forty-three acres of land? Oh, no, my Lord, if they should entertain any notions respecting the sending away of people out of the country, they will look to the *drones* and not to the *bees*. They will find that *a full fourth part of the people of England are* IDLERS, a full fourth part of them drones, and made drones, too, by the honey which the tax-gatherer takes from the bees. They, in order to keep the starving bees alive, and restore happiness and harmony and strength to the hive, will soon set to work to get rid of the drones; and will say, to be sure, that, if any-body be to be sent away out of the country; if any-body be to endure the unnatural and brutal restraint suggested by the nasty MALTHUS and the Scotch crew, that restraint ought to be endured by the drones. Such men will see that the pension list, the sinecure list, the list of grantees, the dead-weight list, the academies, the barracks, the standing army in time of peace, the overpaid fundholders; they will find that to all these there is given, out of the taxes, a *high premium* for increasing the population; and, to be sure, they will demand that a stop shall be put to the giving of this premium, if, especially, they should be convinced, that the country is becoming too populous: such men will never give their consent to have all the land mortgaged to raise money to send away the cart-horses and mares, in order that there may be more room and food for the coach-horses and the nags.

But, a curious fact connected with this subject is, that, while this project is on foot for sending away the native labourers of England, there is no project on foot for keeping out the Irish and the Scotch labourers. There is, indeed, complaint that the Irish come and sweep away the best part of the employment of many of the English labourers; but no law is proposed to prevent this, though it is notorious that, the late disturbances actually began by the English of the Isle of Thanet driving the Irish out of that island by sheer force. The remedy, it seems, is then, to mortgage the land, in order to send the English away! But, *the Scotch*! We never hear a complaint about the souls of them that come across the Tweed and hither by the sea. To be sure they will not work at agriculture; but here they are, keeping Englishmen *thrusted back*, and eating the food and wearing the clothes which Englishmen might have to eat and to wear. Not a word do we ever hear about their dreadful invasions. They slip in quietly, and smuggle unseen into the fat of the land.

But, there is, concerning the Scotch, as connected with the project of emigration, a fact that never will be believed a hundred years hence, and which I should not dare to state now, could I not refer to parliamentary documents in support of it; a fact which shows what monstrous fools the landowners of England have been; a fact which shows to what an extent the measures of this Government have been partial in favour of the Scotch; a fact which, if there were no other, would call aloud for a radical reform of this House of Commons; a fact which, I dare say, your Lordship is wholly unacquainted with; but which ought to be known to you, and to be remembered by you, and to be

known to and remembered by every *young man* with English blood in his veins.

Be it known to you, then, that thirty-four years ago was proposed to and acted by this famous parliament, the making of new and grand *roads*, new and grand *bridges*, and new and grand *canals, in the Highlands of Scotland*! You will stare at the very mention of this fact. This project has cost MILLIONS OF MONEY. I dare say that it is costing a great sum annually to this very day. The very drawings and the copper-plates cost as much as the taxes paid by ten English villages of ordinary size. It is not above a year or two ago since I saw documents to prove to me that this source of expense was still in existence. I have not the parliamentary documents at my command. But I challenge the whole tribe of greedy sawneys to contradict the substance of these facts which I have now stated. Your father, who was present in the House when the project was adopted, will tell you all about the matter; and, if I mistake not, he will tell you that he opposed this taxing of England for the purpose of making grand roads, bridges, and canals, in the Highlands of Scotland.

But now, this is the interesting matter: what was the *pretence*, what was the ground for the squanderings of these millions of English money? It was proved; to the satisfaction of every man out of Parliament as well as in Parliament, that these things were totally useless in the Highlands; it was proved that it was madness to think of their ever being of any use; it was said besides, that the proof of the inutility was, that no private persons would venture their money in having the works done; and that if the things should be useful to the land-owners and inhabitants of Scotland, why did they not cause them to be made at their own expense, as was always done in the several counties of England? Now mind, my Lord, in answer to these arguments, the committee that reported in favour of the project said little or nothing; but they said this, "that it "was necessary to do something to "find employment for the Scotch "working people, IN ORDER TO "PREVENT THEM FROM EMI-"GRATING." That was the ground, and the only ground, upon which millions of English money have been expended. I remember that I took up the subject in the year 1804 or 1805, reprobating the injustice of taxing the working people in England, in order, in fact, to keep a set of wretched creatures living under the Scotch nobility; in order, in other words, to tax the English industrious classes to supply the Scotch nobles with the means of maintaining their poor.

If this bill of your Lordship be to pass, which, for the sake of your father's reputation, I hope it is not, this Parliament is the Parliament of all Parliaments to pass it. For this bill, mortgaging the land in England, to send away the English labourers and to cause there to be less than one labouring man to every twenty-three acres of land in the rich county of Bedford; while, at the same time, this very same Parliament has been for thirty-four years taxing the land and the labourers of England for the purpose of sending money to Scotland, to prevent the Scotch from emigrating from their bleak and barren Highlands; this bill, thus passed, and under such circumstances, would be a very suitable measure wherewith to wind up the career of this Parliament.

But does your Lordship imagine that a reformed Parliament would sit three days without repealing such a law? Does your Lordship imagine that there would not speedily be a committee to look into the proceedings of the commissioners for the making of Highland roads, bridges, and canals, and for inquiring into the effects of such an expenditure of English money? My Lord, begin in time: when a Scotchman talks to you about public measures, mark whether there be not always at bottom some particular object tending to his own advantage, or to that of his country. Every Ministry since George III. mounted the throne has been a tool

in the hands of the Scotch. PITT might, if he had had courage and honesty sufficient, have set this persevering and indefatigable faction at defiance; but, abandoned by those whom he had forced to be attached to him by the good principles of his youth, he was compelled to fall into the arms of the Scotch; and one after another they got from him the army, the colonies, India, and finally the navy. Your father has adhered to the principles of his youth; he has all his old friends more firmly attached to him than ever; he may be said to have, besides, all those who were his enemies at his back. The Scotch faction will not reign over him. But I am very much afraid that the pestilent Scotch *feelosofee* will have great influence with him; and if it have, the remainder of his days will be days of trouble. He will always be aiming at effecting objects forced, unnatural, not to be accomplished, and detestable in the eyes of the great mass of the English people. To be convinced of the selfishness of this wily faction, what have you to do but to look at the handkerchief so fully described in my last *Register*. You, as the son of your father, must feel indignation at the sight of that calumnious representation; but it is the pestilential feelosofee against which you ought to be upon your guard. I blame not the Scotch *people*; I impute nothing bad to the industrious classes of Scotland; these are some of the very best people in the world; and they have been more oppressed by the borough system, more cruelly treated by that system, than the people of England themselves. It is the literary, the tax-eating, the place-hunting, the at once crawling and insolent crew that has been the curse of England for more than half a century; and through their influence the power of England has been made to be the curse of the industrious Scotch. A Scotchman went, according to the right which the law gave him, to a bank at Edinburgh, and there *demanded gold in exchange for one of the banker's notes*; and, instead of complying with his demand, *the banker handed him over to the custody of the police*. The industrious classes of Scotland have been still more completely slaves than we have been for the last forty years. They are now showing their joy and their gratitude to your father for their approaching emancipation from this state of thraldom. They are compelling the tax-eating crew to *illuminate their houses*. These latter fight them with their troops and their police; but they fight in vain. Sawney, in spite of the soft persuasion of the pestilent feelosofee, is compelling the tax-eating crew to make demonstrations of joy at that which the people know will speedily produce their destruction, or what they deem destruction, namely, to work or to starve. The pestilent feelosofers have been as much the enemies of the Scotch as of the English; and this the people of Scotland know full well.

To return, now, to a few more remarks before I close my letter on this emigration scheme, *who* is it that your Lordship means to send away? Not the aged, not the infirm, not the lame, not the blind, not the insane, not the diminutive in point of size; but the young, the hale, the strong, the stout, the sane, the able, the enterprising, aye, and *not the lazy*, YOUNG MEN, single or married, and a vast proportion of the former. How old are you, my Lord? You are a sportsman, I dare say. Now, mind, *no single women will go*! If they would, by coming back and marrying here, they would render your scheme for exclusion from parochial relief a mere laughing-stock. For a married woman to be got away, she must be extremely docile and obedient to her husband, or he must be a pretty tight-handed fellow; and he must be tighter still if he keep her abroad, if she have the means of getting home. But, as to the young single women and stout girls, it is a sort of madness to suppose that they will go; so that, on the maxim of a true sportsman, you will carefully *preserve all the hens*! And then what becomes of the main object of the scheme; namely, *to check the increase of population*? You will answer, perhaps, "Why, by sending away

"those who would marry these young "women, we should prevent them from "having husbands; and if they have "no husbands, they cannot, of course, "have children." O, can't they! Do, pray, my Lord, look into the evidence of Slaney, on his "Surplus-population" Committee; and there you will find an overseer of Frenoux-Pelham, in Hertfordshire, telling the Committee that *all* the young women have children at about eighteen or twenty years of age, whether they be married or single; and you will find the parson of Little Horwood, in Buckinghamshire, stating that the same was the case in his parish; and the overseer stated that this monstrous disregard of character had arisen from the extreme poverty of the young working people, who, not having the means of paying the expense of the wedding themselves, were driven to incur this disgrace of premature pregnancy, in order to compel the parish to pay the expense of the wedding. So that not a child the less would be born in England, in consequence of your getting rid of the able young men, no small part of whom would, by the by, leave illegitimate children behind them. Not a soul the less would be born in England for the sending away of these young men; and this must be acknowledged by every one who is familiar with the motive from which *the hens are saved*. There would be a greater number of bastards than there is now, and of fatherless children; and, of course, an *addition to the number of paupers*. The young fellows that remained, if you could succeed to any extent in getting young men away, would have additional temptation to become illegitimate fathers; for, as to preaching the Malthusian doctrine of restraint to the country girls, only let the nasty *fcelosofers* go and state the doctrine to them IN PLAIN TERMS; let them state the unnatural, the beastly, the nasty ideas to them IN PLAIN, UNVARNISHED LANGUAGE; let them do this, and see how soon their heads will be tied up in their aprons, and their filthy brains knocked out against the posts of the cow-cribs! Oh, no, my Lord Howick, the best and most powerful propensities of our nature are not to be destroyed by laws founded on what is called policy: men and women are not to be made to believe that the good of their country can require that those who work, and produce ten times as much as they consume, should be driven from their country, or rendered barren. They feel that they have a right to live and to enjoy all the usual accompaniments of youth and of health; and they are not to be persuaded out of this by wheedlers or canters of any description.

I trust, therefore, that this at once cruel and futile project will be abandoned. It has arisen out of the dread of the increasing amount of the poor-rates. This increasing amount has been occasioned by the enormous amount of the taxes. To reduce the taxes is therefore the remedy; and that remedy must be applied, and that too to a very great extent, or all the evils of which the country now complains must remain undiminished.

Before I conclude, let us have a word about the colonies to which these emigrants are to go. You are in an office, my Lord, which enables you to know all about the colonies of Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and you must know that, if all those colonies were cast away from the dominion of England, it would be a prodigious benefit to us: you must know that we pay enormous sums in taxes every year, in order to keep possession of those worthless tracts of rocks, sands and swamps, which are unable to provide subsistence for even their scanty population, and which are mere channels through which to send English taxes to enrich the United States of America, in which States our colonial pensioners and sinecurists actually reside during a considerable portion of the year. To send men to these colonies, is only to send them so far on their way to the United States, to which they are speedily removed as back carriage, in the vessels which bring the cabbages, green peas, asparagus, apples, pears, plums, peaches,

cherries, and so forth, for our pensioners and sinecurists in the colonies. All this you must know, having been in the colonial office for six months CANADA is the only part of the colonies in which any-thing but a madman would attempt to settle; and this colony is so much inferior to almost the whole of the United States, in point of soil and climate; and the good lands have been so completely grasped and monopolised by the church clergy and by the swarms of dependants on the Government, that no man sent thither, and able to get his living by his labour, will remain in the colony. Does your Lordship ever look into a paper, printed in London, called "*Hue and Cry?*" It is a weekly publication put forth by the Government. It contains amongst other things, lists of *deserters from the army*, in the colonies as well as at home; and, I have seldom looked into one of these lists without perceiving that there were more deserters from the few regiments that were in Canada; from *four or six regiments, than from all the others, more than a hundred regiments, put together.* To be sure! The men see the land of promise; they know that they are safe there. Their wishes lead them thither; and they have nothing to do but to put their legs in motion, and to give a southern direction to their toes. It is curious, too, that in England, Ireland, Scotland, West Indies, Gibraltar, and all the other places where the army is, the deserters are represented as going off in flannel jackets, smock-frocks, caps or hats, like those of common workmen; but *in Canada off they march in full regimentals*! This shows that they have no apprehension of being arrested on their march; this shows how easy and how safe the transit is; and it also shows that they are received in their new country as men whose desertion is a merit. How I have laughed to hear that Sir George, or Sir John, or Sir Somebody else MURRAY prattling about the benefits of the Rideau Canal, and of the necessity of forming on the *flank* of the United States a numerous colony, "*affectionately attached to England.*" Ten years, *if we continue to enrich that colony*, will not pass over our heads before that colony will be independent of us, or will form a part of the confederation of the American States. It can do either any time, in despite of us. It remains a colony only on account of the masses of English taxes that it receives, and on account of the indirect enormous tax upon us, imposed by the Timber Bill, for the sole benefit of this bug-breeding colony. The moment it has got all it can get, we shall be freed of it, which, though it will exhibit our folly in a most staring point of view, will still be so great a benefit that we shall have to rejoice most sincerely at the event. It has been imputed to those who complain that Canada timber breeds bugs, that they are actuated by ungovernable prejudice. I have never been in that part which is called Canada; but I was eight years in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, countries of the same latitude, and the latter joining on to Canada; and, as many times as I have bones in my whole body, I have seen swarms of bugs in the bark of the pine-trees of Nova Scotia, or, rather, between the bark and the wood: exactly the same creatures as the bed-bugs, sometimes walking about in their shell state, and at other times swelled out with dark matter, as a bed-bug is when full of blood; and their poisonous smell is precisely the same. The people of those countries have to endure unspeakable torment from the swarms of these vermin, which no degree of cleanliness can keep down. No efforts that have ever been made use of can make a barrack a place other than a place of torment in those countries, all the spring, and summer, and autumn. It is, probably, in the nature of the pine-trees in those countries to engender those vermin. Their places of residence were the cavities in the bark, or in occasional openings made between the bark and the wood. The devils used to creep from the trees, and get about upon the raspberry bushes, or those of the huckle-berry, and feed upon the fruit of those plants, which are, in those countries, in immeasurable abundance.

Some of those cleanly people, the Yankees, who were obliged to take refuge in these vile countries, after the independence of the States was acknowledged, used, by their incessant care, and by their everlasting scrubbings and washings, to keep their houses clear from these vermin; but then, observe, they took special care never to suffer a piece of *pine wood* to form any part of those houses; and this is the wood which, amongst its last brilliant acts, this clever Parliament have compelled us to buy dear, when we might have had the good wood from Norway, clean and cheap. I cannot say that the Canada pine, stripped of its bark, does breed bugs; but the experience of many persons has made them declare that it does; and, for my own part, if any man would build me a new house with Canada pine, I would not, if compelled to live in it, receive it as a gift.

And, my Lord, is it to these villanous countries that you would have the prime of the English labourers inveigled to go, and that, too, while you permit Irish labourers to come in shoals, and snatch from them the profits of the prime of the year? Is it to these bleak, barren; is it to these hideous rocks and dismal swamps, and amidst swarms of vermin inflicting torment incessant, that you would send, that you would *deliberately* send, nice and affectionate English women, to be smitten down with fell fevers, to have every particle of red banished for ever from their cheeks, to see their children pine away their lives, to endure, in short, every-thing calculated to break the heart or to madden the mind; and is it for the effecting of these horrible purposes that you would mortgage the lands, the houses, the science, the skill, and the labour of England?

My Lord, in after times, nay, before ten summers' suns shall have passed over your head, you will hear many things, which now excite little wonder, spoken of as we now speak of the ancient practice of putting witches to death by the Court of King's Bench. In this sort of way we already speak of *Pitt's Sinking Fund*, and of his *Bank-Restriction Bill*; *Peel's Bill* is fast following upon their heels. The men twenty years of age, who shall in ten years' time read an account of the rotten boroughs from which your father has now delivered us, will hardly believe the thing to have been possible; but, my Lord, of all the wonderings of that day, none will exceed the wonder that it should have been proposed, and that, too, by the son of Lord GREY, to mortgage the lands, the houses, and the industry of England, in order to raise money to send the prime of the English labourers out of the country, at the same time that swarms of Irish labourers were permitted to come into England, and while the whole of the English nation, its labourers not excepted, were taxed in order to raise money to be given to the Scotch, *in order to keep them from emigrating*!

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. O'CONNELL.

IT is with the sincerest joy that I perceive that Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, son of Mr. O'Connell, has been returned to Parliament by the county of Clare. This is a proof that all the base tyranny of the infamous press of both England and Ireland, and that all the *baser whisperings* of the incomparably base and ungrateful Catholic aristocracy, have not been able to succeed in rendering the *people* of Ireland base and ungrateful like themselves. In the midst of all his troubles; at a moment when every treacherous tongue is at work to betray him, when every foul tongue is at work to blacken him; when the mercenary crew of the press are licking up and gorging themselves with the reward which they receive for calumniating him; when Virulence is putting forth its most viperous tongue to sting him to death, when more artful Malignity is assuming the sneer with a view of

killing him with contempt; in the midst of all this, with an income sacrificed to the public service, and a most virtuous family, deprived, stripped at one stroke, and apparently for ever, of all their fair and just hopes, founded on the rare talents, and the still rarer moral habits and domestic virtues, of its celebrated head: at this moment, when all appeared lost, all appeared forlorn, with this distinguished man, comes this proof to all the world that the ill-treated country which he has so ardently loved, and so faithfully and efficiently served, retains its gratitude towards him, and is resolved to carry him and to keep him aloft, in spite of all the power and all the slander upon earth. I have not seen Mr. O'CONNELL for about two years, and I have had no *communication* with him whatever, directly or indirectly, for about five years; but I know that it is my duty to take part with him with regard to his recent endeavours relative to Ireland. He acts quite rightly in suspending all proceedings upon those subjects until the present great question be determined; and in the meanwhile, here he is, with more parliamentary power in his hands (exclusive of his own great talents) than will remain in the hands of any one of the haughty and ungrateful Catholic boroughmongers, after the present bill shall have passed into a law. This power he will retain, too, and it will be daily increasing. He stands in no need of violent proceedings; that small and miserable degree of liberty which the laws in force in his country still leave him, will now be more than sufficient for all the purposes which he has ever had in view. A little patience will bring him ample justice. I desire hereby to express to him my most sincere congratulation on the election of his son, whose first desire, and indeed duty, and indeed interest in the end, into the bargain, it will be to make any sacrifice that may be necessary to the maintenance of the honour and the principles of his father.

No. IV.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(*Continued from No. 7, col.* 425.)

84. BUT, alas! while she was laying the foundation of the ruin of the factions, and of the monopoly of the aristocracy, she was, in consequence of the bad advice under which she acted, laying the foundation of all those persecutions and calamities that finally overtook her. Her interest, her honour, her personal safety, demanded a publication of the BOOK; and, as was stated before, the book, under the direction of PERCEVAL, was, at the time when she wrote her last letter, as before cited (par. 69), actually *printed* and *bound up* for publication. But the King having consented to turn out the ministry, PERCEVAL, who had lodged the books with a bookseller, to be ready for sale on the day appointed, took them all (or as *he thought all*) home to his country house, and there *burnt them*, not leaving one in the possession of even the princess herself. He had now *obtained what he wanted*: he had made use of the princess for his own immediate elevation, and, as we have to see by and-by, for the duration of his power *over her husband* as well as over her father- in-law; she had thus fully answered his ends, and that of his party; and she was now, therefore, left to her fate; left to drawl along a sort of half disgraceful life, until, fifteen years afterwards, that very party found an occasion for destroying her.

85. She had, indeed, apartments allotted her in *Kensington Palace;* she was received *at court;* but the King, her *only* friend, was daily growing older; he was stone blind; his mind had had a severe shock in 1804, which was the second of the kind that he had experienced; the courtiers of *both factions* were looking up to her husband; the people, generally speaking, thought her innocent; nobody pretended that the charges against her were *not false;* but, still, every one said, *why* does she not *publish the proofs of her innocence?* And this very argument was urged as corroborative of the charges against her, in 1820; and that, too, by the very faction whose advice had prevented her from publishing in 1807! Perceval and his co-operators, who wished to keep THE BOOK from the eyes of the world, in order to have it to hold up in the face of the husband in case of a regency question arising, prevailed, in an evil hour prevailed, on the princess to be silent on the subject of the book, persuading her, that her appearance at court and her residence in a palace would satisfy the people of her perfect innocence, and that whenever the prince came into power, either as king or regent, she would take her proper station as princess-regent or queen,

and that the circumstance of her daughter being the heiress-apparent would of necessity give her great weight and power. Thus they prevented her from making, while her husband was weak, that attack which when he became *strong* it was too late for her to think of making.

86. Thus, then, she had to live in this state of neglect *until the year* 1811, when the derangement of mind of the King rendered *a regency necessary*. And now, strictly speaking, begins the *History of the Regency and Reign of George IV.*, during which we shall find, that greater innovations were made in the governing of the kingdom, greater inroads on the rights and liberties of the people, greater severities exercised on them, and a greater mass of misery endured by them, than during any former, or any ten former, reigns, the reign of George III. not excepted, though that reign has been justly called a reign of taxation and of terror.

CHAPTER III.

From the Commencement of the Regency, in July, 1811, to the Death of the Prime Minister Perceval, in May, 1812.

87. FROM the spring of 1807, until the month of June 1810, there had been, at times, rumours relative to the state of the King's mind. People talked about it very familiarly; but, as is always the case where great and terrible power exists, and especially with a press nine-tenths of which was always directly or indirectly interested in propagating falsehood, amidst the mass of contradictory reports, the public could come at no certainty relative to the facts. There is nothing like a corrupt press, which has the appearance or name of being free, for the propagation or sustaining of falsehood; and, accordingly, with three hundred newspapers in circulation, and with all the boast about entire freedom of the press, the English people knew no more than the people of China did what was the real situation of the king during the three last mentioned years. If any person, being a private individual, had, by any accident, happened to come at a certain knowledge of the state of the King, and so certain as to be able to produce proof of it on oath, he would not have dared to make it known through the means of the press unless willing to subject him self to utter pecuniary ruin, and to a great chance of losing his life. But, at last, the fact of the derangement of mind and absolute insanity of the king could be disguised no longer; and, in the month of November, 1810, out came the fact.

88. It is of the greatest importance that the English people, at the important crisis in which I am writing, be enabled to call to mind the circumstances attending the disclosure of this insanity of the king. It was not announced in any official manner until the month of November. The King had prorogued the Parliament by commission, on the 21st June, 1810; but now, when the fact of the insanity could no longer be denied, it was declared openly in Parliament that the King has been incapable of affixing his signature to the commission for their further prorogation. In order to disguise the true state of the King from the people, fabricated stories were incessantly promulgated through the newspapers. In the month of October, and so late as the 25th of that month, it was stated that the King's daughter, the Princess Amelia, died; and it was related of her that, just before her death, she had ordered a ring to be made, which she herself had placed on the finger of her father. This account was published, as I have observed before, on the 25th of October. On the same day it was declared, through the same channels, that the King was in perfect health. The words of this announcement or declaration are so remarkable, that they must find their place here, taken from a public paper, called the '*Morning Chronicle*,' of the 25th of October. "This day his Majesty enters into the 51st "year of his reign; and we rejoice to learn, "that he possesses *perfect health, and promises* "*the enjoyment of many years in the bosom* "*of his family and people.*" Battles, sieges, even conquests, are of little consequence when compared with the means by which a nation is duped and deluded on to its ruin. This same, this very same instructor of the public, on the 2nd of November, that is to say, seven clear days only after the former announcement, announced to the public, that the King had been in a state of great "*agitation*" from the date of three weeks before that 2nd of November. Nay, it announced to the public that on the *25th of October*, the very day when it before announced that the King was in perfect health, the King was in so dangerous a state that his attendants had thought it necessary to communicate the intelligence to the Prime Minister; that a council was held accordingly, and that the King was even then consigned to the care of his physicians and keepers! Was ever nation so imposed upon as this? Was ever people so deluded by a press? Even after the 25th of October, these same vehicles of intelligence informed the people that the King had been riding out in Windsor Park with several members of his family and several of the nobility and gentry. But, at last, the fact could be denied no longer, and out it came, that the King had not been able to sign the commission for the prorogation of the Parliament in June, though every thing had been transacted in his name, orders of council had been issued, and particularly one for putting up prayers and thanksgivings for an abundant harvest, which order began in these words, "At the court at "Windsor, the 17th of October, 1810, *present* "*the King's most excellent Majesty in Coun-* "*cil.*"

89. The Parliament had been prorogued by

the King on the 21st of June. It met again on the 1st of November, in consequence of the King's acknowledged inability to sign the commission for their prorogation. We have seen that on the 17th of October, the proclamation for the thanksgiving had represented him as present in the council at Windsor. On the same day, another proclamation was issued in the same style, for further proroguing the Parliament to the 29th of November; but in order to give effect to this proclamation, it was necessary that a commission should be signed for the further prorogation, and that this commission should be signed by the King; but after the physicians had been called in, as we have before seen, on the 25th of October, it would have been a step a little too bold to put the King's name to the bottom of a commission which must have been dated after that 25th of October, and before the time of prorogation. Therefore there could be no commission. The Houses met agreeably to the proclamation, and motions being made in each House, they adjourned to the 15th of November, on which day they re-assembled, and in both Houses an adjournment was moved and carried, that adjournment being on the 29th of November. The Houses met again on the 29th of November, and entered into long debates with regard to the state of the King, and with regard to the probability or improbability of his recovery. In the meanwhile, preparations were making by the two hostile parties for a grand struggle as to which should have the Government in its hands in the case of a regency. The party which had the power in their hands discovered not the smallest desire to give it up. The Prince, who was of course to be regent, had continued to live on the usual terms with his party, which was that of the people called Whigs. This party strongly protested against all *limitation of power;* and that the Regent should at once be possessed of all the powers that belonged to the King. The Prince, his brothers, and all his party, contended stoutly for the possession of these full powers; but the other party contended for the contrary, and finally they prevailed, owing to the great distrust which the country entertained, and justly entertained, of the Whig faction. The Prince and the whole of his brothers signed a protest against any Regency that should not give to the Prince all the powers of King; but this had very little effect upon the people: indeed, it rather strengthened the hands of Perceval and his party, and tended to enable them finally to effect their purpose. A Regency was, therefore, at last established by law for a limited period with limited powers.

90. This act was passed on the 5th of Feb. 1811, and the provisions were as follows: 1. That the Prince of Wales should be Regent. 2. That he should sign, "George, Prince Regent, in the name and behalf of his Majesty." 3. That his power should cease when the health of the King should be restored. 4. That the acts passed and the orders and appointments made by the Regent should remain good, unless countermanded or reversed by the King. 5. That no act of the Regent should be valid unless done in the name of the King, and according to the provisions of the act. 6. That the Regent should, before he entered on his office, take three oaths; first, an oath of allegiance to the King; second, that he would faithfully execute the office of Regent, according to the provisions of the act; and third, that he would inviolably maintain and preserve the Protestant religion, which oaths he was to take before the Privy Council. 7. That he should further, at the time of taking these oaths, make, subscribe, and audibly repeat, the declaration of the 30th of Charles II., for *disabling Papists from sitting in the Houses of Parliament;* and should produce to the Privy Council a certificate that he had taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some one or other of the royal chapels, which certificate should be signed by the person administering the same. 8. That until the 1st day of February, 1812, he should be restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to titles in abeyance. 9. That he should be restrained from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer period than during his Majesty's pleasure, except those which by law are granted for life. 10. That he should not be restrained from granting pensions under the 1st of George the Third, and the 43rd and 45th of George the Third, which relate to certain little matters connected with the sea service and the colonies. 11. That he should not have power to give the royal assent to the repeal of the act for the settlement of the Crown, the Act of Uniformity, or the Act of Union with Scotland. 12. That if the Regent did not reside in the kingdom, or if he married a Papist, his power should cease. 13. That the care of the King, and that the appointment of a part of the household, should be vested in the Queen. 14. That no officer of the household should make any appointment but during his Majesty's pleasure. 15. That a council should be appointed to assist her Majesty, of which JOHN LORD ELDON was to be one. 16. That these councillors should take an oath promising to assist her Majesty faithfully. 17. That this council should have all the powers relative to the care of the King, and should have power to notify his restoration to health. 18. That on the King's declaring by proclamation his resumption of the royal authority, the powers of the Regent should cease. 19. That in case of the death of her Majesty, the care of the King's person should be vested in her council. That the letters patent and of privy seal for the issues of money from the Civil Lists to her Majesty should continue in force. 20. That 60,000*l.* a year should be issued out of the Civil List to the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse, part of which sum to be placed at her Majesty's disposal, and that the revenues of the Duchy

of Lancaster should be applied in somewhat the same manner. 21. That the care of the King's real and personal estate and property should be committed to trustees; and that these trustees should be answerable to the Queen as well as to the Regent for the keeping of these for the use of his Majesty. That the Regent should have power to dispose of the droits of the Crown and of the Admiralty.

91. Here was a sort of partnership sovereignty established: a sort of probationary royalty in the Regent; and it is truly curious, that, in the preamble of this act, the act is ascribed to the King himself, whose exercise of the royal authority the same bill declares not to be in existence. It says, "Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons;" though it says, in the same sentence, that the personal exercise of the royal authority by his Majesty is interrupted. At any rate, it was an act passed without the assent of either King or Regent. But the great and interesting question was, not whether the act were agreeably to the laws and constitution of the country or not; not whether it was right or wrong thus to defer the full exercise of the royal authority for a year; but *whether, limited as the powers were, the Prince, upon being invested with them, would take his old friends and companions, the Whigs, to be his Ministers.* This was the great question that agitated the country, and particularly those who belonged to the two political factions. Men in general, unacquainted with the hidden motives that were at work, no more expected that PERCEVAL and ELDON would continue for one moment to be Ministers under the Regent, than they expected the end of the world. They saw in these men the very men who had protected his wife in 1806 and 1807; they saw in these men those who had actually turned out his friends, because they had given her that protection; they saw in these men those who had notoriously made it a point to keep in the back-ground not only all his favourites, but himself; and they saw in these men the persons who, when, at last, compelled to put a Regency into his hands, had so put it with all the trammels and all the degrading conditions contained and expressed in the Regency Bill just described. How, then, were people in general to imagine that he would retain these men in power for one single moment beyond that the arrival of which would enable him to discard them? They had left him full power to choose his Ministers, and, of course, to put all the immense patronage into their hands; and who was to believe that he would choose PERCEVAL and ELDON (and their colleagues) to be the organs of his will and the possessors of all this patronage; and that he could leave his own friends, to whom and to whose political principles he stood so firmly pledged, still bereft of all those powers and emoluments for which they had so long been sighing? Yet, *this he did!* He had protested against the limited Regency; he had complained that it would deprive him of the power of doing the good that he sought for the country; his brothers had joined him in the complaint; his friends had protested still more vehemently, and had accused the promoters of the limitation of endeavours to subvert the Kingly Government: and yet he chose for his Ministers the very men who had been the promoters, and, in fact, the doers, of all these things so bitterly complained of!

92. But, those who did not look beyond the surface, did not perceive that PERCEVAL and ELDON had still the PRINCESS in their hands; that they had THE BOOK in their hands: the people did not perceive this, and the Whigs themselves seem to have forgotten it; for they were all on tip-toe expecting to be called in to supply the place of ELDON and PERCEVAL. Before the passing of the Bill, a deputation from the two Houses of Parliament waited upon the Prince and upon the Queen, describing to each of them the substance of the bill which was intended to be passed. The Prince expressed his regret at the restrictions which it was intended to impose, but, nevertheless, accepted the Regency on these terms. The Queen was all acquiescence, of course; but now came the great point to be settled; namely, whether the Tories or the Whigs were to be Ministers; and this point was settled in favour of the former! The message from the Prince to PERCEVAL upon this occasion, is a couple of documents which do not admit of description or abbreviation; we must, therefore, have them here at full length. They should be read with great attention, because we shall, by-and-by, be fully enabled to judge of their sincerity and consistency; and enabled also to penetrate into the motives of this decision of the Prince, which filled the whole country with surprise, and plunged into despair those seekers after power and emolument who had so long been called his friends.

THE PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER.

Carlton-House, Feb. 4, 1811.

The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive Government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal. The Prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval *his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there, as his Majesty's official servants.* At the same time the Prince owes it to the *truth* and *sincerity* of character which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the *irresistible impulse*

of filial duty and affection to his *beloved* and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the *progress of his sovereign's recovery*.—This consideration *alone dictates the decision* now communicated to Mr. Perceval.—Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own *consistency* and *honour*, the Prince has only to add, that among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of *unexampled embarrassment*, and put an end to a *state of affairs* ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom, in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be *reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.*

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing Street, February 5, 1811.

Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your royal highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your royal highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning,—Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your royal highness *for the frankness* with which your royal highness has condescended, *explicitly, to communicate the motives* which have induced your royal highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services, in the stations intrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your royal highness, that, in the expression of your royal highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your royal highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your royal highness's views for the security and happiness of the country. Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your royal highness, with regard to the provisions of the Regency Bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to Parliament. But he ventures to submit to your royal higness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive Government, your royal highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogatives which has been introduced by Parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever Ministers your royal highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your royal highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your royal highness effectually to maintain the great and important interest of the United Kingdom. And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that, whatever doubts your royal highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your royal highness will feel assured that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution. Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your royal highness, and to receive any commands with which your royal highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.

93. It would be a bold thing to say that dissimulation equal to this never was before witnessed in the world; but, it is not being at all bold to say, that dissimulation to surpass it never was witnessed since the use of words was in practice amongst men. The Prince's letter to PERCEVAL was clearly intended to make the Whigs believe that he would call them to power as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease. The expression of the rescuing him from a situation of *unexampled embarrassment*; and the expression of *state of affairs* ill-calculated to sustain the interests of the kingdom, and not *reconcileable to the principles of the British constitution*, and his telling PERCEVAL that the fear of retarding the progress of the King's recovery, by turning out his chosen servants, was the "consideration which *alone* "dictated his determination not to remove "them from the places in which he found "them" left by his father: these expressions, together with the protestations of truth and sincerity; and PERCEVAL's thanks for the *frankness* with which the communication had been made to him: these were taken by the public as certain signs that the Prince only kept Perceval in for the present; but that he would certainly get rid of him as soon as the year of restraint had expired.

94. So completely successful was this dissimulation, that it appears to have imposed upon the Whig place-hunters themselves. Besides these written communications, however, there were certain overt acts which seemed to forbid every human being to believe that the PRINCE was not eager to get rid of the old ministers; he actually sent for Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, who were the two surviving leaders of the party that had been in power in 1807, and *proposed to them to form a ministry to them.* The other party were actually preparing to quit their offices; and had made the arrangements necessary in the several departments, for delivering the business

up to successors. After all this, out came the announcement, all at once, that the ministry was not to be changed! The real cause unquestionably was this; that PERCEVAL and ELDON had the PRINCESS of WALES in their hands; that they were in possession of the Book, and of all its secrets; that they could have brought out the letter, that never-to-be-forgotten letter, which the reader will find in paragraph 52 of this History; that they were in possession of the warrant issued by the recommendation of the Whigs, and which will be found in paragraph 60 of this History; that they were in possession of the report on the conduct of the PRINCESS, to be found in the same paragraph; that they were in possession of the whole of the documents mentioned in this paragraph from 61 to 73 inclusive; and that the publication of these documents, the publication of the proof of all the conspiracy, as the PRINCESS of WALES had called it in her letters to the KING; that the publication of the proof of all this would have filled the English people with what I will not, what I dare not describe; but which, I may safely say, would have inspired feelings with regard to the Regent which, according to every principle of human nature, he must have been desirous to prevent the existence of, at the expense of any-thing, no matter what, short of life itself.

95. If he pacified PERCEVAL and ELDON, then this terrible history remained unknown; and the PRINCESS would, of course, be kept quietly to vegetate at Kensington Palace and at Blackheath alternately. PERCEVAL and ELDON would have brought her out; they would have contended that she should be called the PRINCESS REGENT; they would have contended that she had not only always been innocent, but that she had been cruelly oppressed and conspired against; they would have contended that she should hold drawing-rooms and have a court; and, let it be observed, they would have had the whole nation with them as with the voice of one man. There was not a woman in the kingdom who would not have reproached her husband, her son, or her brothers, if he had not espoused the cause of PERCEVAL and ELDON in such a case as this. So that the PRINCE was compelled to keep the ministers in their places, or to encounter all the dreadful hostility that they were thus enabled to raise up against him. Whether he really at first intended to change the ministry, one may doubt. The sending for Lords GRENVILLE and GREY to form a ministry might be a mere blind arranged before-hand with PERCEVAL; and the preparations for quitting office on the part of the old ministers might be the same. And, indeed, the very regency bill itself, though protested against so vehemently, might have been a matter arranged beforehand. But, at any rate, if these matters were not all previous arrangement, we must conclude that PERCEVAL went, at the last moment, with the book in his hand, and that that produced the decision which filled the whole country with surprise.

96. The decision having been taken, and the communication made to the world, the Whig faction put the best face upon the matter that they could. They said, and they published in all sorts of shapes, that the PRINCE had, in keeping in PERCEVAL and his set, been actuated solely by filial affection for his revered father, whose recovery, he was afraid, might have been retarded, if, upon return to the use of his reason, he found his old and faithful servants turned out of his offices; but that if he found at the end of the year that the derangement of the King still continued, then he would put an end to the power of these men, and put his own friends in their places; and that this was the true meaning of his letter to PERCEVAL. To this it was answered, that supposing the KING to return to his reason before the termination of the year, must not his recovery be retarded as effectually by learning that his son had intended to turn out his servants at the end of the year, as by finding that he had actually turned them out? and supposing the King to return to his reason after the expiration of the year; must not his complete recovery be retarded, must he not be replunged into his dismal situation, upon finding his servants turned out of office, as effectually as he would have been, if he had found them turned out of office before the end of the year? A reply to this was impossible; every man of sense said that there was great dissimulation somewhere, that the true cause of keeping PERCEVAL in power was carefully kept out of sight.

97. Nevertheless, the Whig faction, always greedy of gain, always cormorants after the public money, still nouri-hed and cherished the fond hope, that at the end of the year, the Prince would take them into power; and that, as there was every reason to believe that his own power would be of considerable permanence, they should be able at last to fasten themselves upon the public for a generation at least. They, therefore, conjured up all sorts of stories tending to encourage the belief that the month of February, 1812, was to see them in possession of the public purse. Through their newspapers they related that the PRINCE merely tolerated PERCEVAL and ELDON and the rest of the ministers, that he saw them as seldom as possible, and only just for that length of time which was necessary for the signing of papers; that at his levees, he turned his back upon them, seemed hardly to know them, while he received Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, and all the persons of that party, in the most cordial manner, shook them by the hand, and as much as said to the whole court, and to the foreign ambassadors, "*These are the men in whom I confide.*"

98. With stories like these, the nation were amused until the month of January, 1812. In the meanwhile, the other party were not idle. Having prevailed, through the means beforementioned, over their rivals, so as to keep their places for the year, at any rate, their next business was to keep them after the ex-

piration of the year. There was no reason, there could be no reason, why the *same motive* that made the PRINCE keep them in 1811, should not make him keep them in 1812. Let that motive be what it might. Why not have them for ministers in the one year as well as in the other? They talked of the limitation of his powers. How were his powers limited? He had all the powers of peace and war; the power of choosing his own ministers; the power of appointing or dismissing officers of the army or the navy; all the powers relative to the judiciary; and all the real limitation that there was, related to the making of peers, to the appointment of the officers of the household, to the granting of places in reversion, and to the custody and management of the private property of the King. The limitations were degrading, to be sure; but, as affecting the kingly *power*, they were of no consequence whatever, especially as they were to last for a year. Neither in these limitations, then, nor in the filial affection of the PRINCE for his father's complete recovery, could any man of sense perceive any ground whatever for postponing the appointment of that Whig ministry which it was affected to believe the Prince regarded as necessary to the well-being of the country. But, a very solid reason for not turning out PERCEVAL was found in the power which he had with regard to the PRINCESS and THE BOOK. He had, as has been before observed, the power of bringing her forward, and making her the triumphant rival of her husband. This power he had completely in his hands, backed as he was by the indignant feelings of an enterprising, brave, and injured woman. But, it was necessary for him to do something in order to keep this great and terrific power in his hands. If he lost the Princess, he lost his only prop; and, even without losing her, if he lost the book, or, rather, if the secrets of the book escaped and became public, he then lost his power. It was, therefore, of the greatest importance to him, that nobody should possess a copy of this book but *himself!* The reader will now please to turn back to paragraph 73, which he will find in Chapter II. He will there find that Perceval ousted the Whigs by the means of this book, and not by the means of the Catholic question, as the hoodwinked nation were taught to believe. The book had been prepared hy PERCEVAL himself: it had been printed, in a considerable edition, by Mr. Edwards, printer, In the Strand; the whole edition had been put into the hands of a bookseller; the day of publication was named, that being the 9th of March, 1807; but on the 7th of March, or thereabouts, the KING determined upon turning out the Whigs and taking in PERCEVAL. Instantly PERCEVAL suppressed THE BOOK; took the edition out of the hands of the booksellers, thinking that he had every copy in his own possession. The story has been in print about his having burned the books in the court-yard of his country house; but, be this as it may, he certainly appears to have thought that no one but himself had a copy of THE BOOK. In this, however, he was deceived; for several copies of this book, as many as four or five, at least, were in the hands of private individuals. This must have been a source of great trouble to PERCEVAL; for if the book were once published, his power was gone. The PRINCESS he might be able to keep quiet, but the public was a less manageable being. To be sure the publication of the book, he must have been aware, would cover the Whig faction with monstrous odium; but it would at the same time have rendered the PRINCE independent of him. God knows what the effect might have been *at that time*, while NAPOLEON was the master of the greater part of Europe! God knows what might have been the effect with regard to the stability of the throne itself; but of the effect with regard to the PRINCE in the eyes of the people, no one could doubt. Still, however, a publication of the book at that time would have rendered the PRINCE quite careless as to the friendship of PERCEVAL. To prevent that publication was, therefore, a matter of great consequence with the latter; and accordingly, every possible exertion was made to prevent the possibility of such publication.

99. When a book is put into the hands of a printer, there is required, in order to prevent a surplus copy from being printed, or several surplus copies, uncommon vigilance and exaction. In ordinary cases, no such pains are required, because the temptation is not great. In this case, it is probable that every possible precaution was taken; but still, there must have been many compositors into whose hands the manuscript was necessarily put; and there must have been many persons too within whose reach the sheets would come. In short, in spite of all the vigilance that was employed, or that might have been employed, four or five copies of the book, an octavo volume of about 350 pages, got into private hands. To get at these copies advertisements appeared in all the public papers, as soon as the Prince had determined to keep PERCEVAL as his Minister. These advertisements plainly enough described the contents of the book, and contained offers of high price for the book to such persons as might have a copy to dispose of. In this manner the copies were brought up: one was sold for 300*l.*, one or two for 500*l.* each, one for 1000*l.*, and the last for 1500*l.* As mentioned in paragraph 84, PERCEVAL thought he had destroyed the whole in 1807, but he now thought, at any rate, that he had the whole in his possession that had not been destroyed. The public paid great attention to these curious advertisements; and they wondered, upon learning what the nature of the book was, that the PRINCESS herself should still remain silent. PERCEVAL, however, found the means to amuse her in the manner that the Whigs had been amused by her husband. At present the Queen was alive: and therefore there was a Queen to hold drawing-rooms, If

necessary; and then the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE was growing up, and was heiress-apparent to the throne; and her mother would surely enjoy distinction suited to her rank if she had but patience to wait a little while.

100. Thus was the secret kept locked up in the hands of PERCEVAL and ELDON, and their immediate associates; thus was the PRINCESS amused during the year 1811; and thus were Whigs amused, though more impatient than any party, always looking forward to power and emolument with more greediness than any other; thus, too, were the public amused, not however without looking forward with uncommon curiosity to see what would take place when the PRINCE should be in possession of what were termed his "*full powers*." The Irish, never the first to discover duplicity practised upon them, looked forward with great anxiety to the arrival of the *full powers*. The PRINCE had always professed his anxiety to see what was called the emancipation of the Catholics. The Whigs had made that a great test of their liberality and justice. The Irish regarded the old King as the great obstacle to their obtaining of that inestimable blessing. They were a little chagrined, indeed, when they found that PERCEVAL and ELDON, who had put out the Whigs upon that very question, were still retained in power by the PRINCE. But, "never mind," they said, "we have only about eleven months to wait till the Prince gets his *full powers*; and he will then fulfil his pledges to Ireland." In the meanwhile the PRINCE, having been installed as REGENT, and having taken the oaths according to the act, proceeded, on the 12th of February, 1811, to open the Parliament, or rather, to commence his legislative functions, by a speech to both Houses, which speech, however, he did not go to deliver in person, but issued a commission for the purpose. The speech was as follows:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—In execution of the commission which has now been read to you, we are commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to express, in the strongest manner, how deeply he laments, not only in common with all his Majesty's loyal subjects, but with a personal and filial affliction, the great national calamity which has been the occasion of imposing upon his Royal Highness the duty of exercising, in his Majesty's name, the royal authority of this kingdom.——In conveying to you the sense which his Royal Highness entertains of the great difficulties attending the important trust which is reposed in him, his Royal Highness commands us to assure you, that he looks with the most perfect confidence to the wisdom and zeal of Parliament, and to the attachment of a loyal and affectionate people, for the most effectual assistance and support; and his Royal Highness will, on his part, exert his utmost endeavours to direct the powers with which he is invested to the advancement of the prosperity, welfare, and security of his Majesty's dominions.——We are directed to inform you, that his Royal Highness has great satisfaction in being enabled to state, that fresh opportunities have been afforded, during the late campaign, for distinguishing the valour and skill of his Majesty's forces both by sea and land.——The capture of the islands of Bourbon and of Amboyna have still farther reduced the colonial dependencies of the enemy.——The attack upon the island of Sicily, which was announced to the world with a presumptuous anticipation of success, has been repulsed by the persevering exertions and valour of his Majesty's land and sea forces.——The judicious arrangement adopted by the officers commanding on that station derived material support from the zeal and ardour which were manifested during this contest by the inhabitants of Sicily, and from the co-operation of the naval means which were directed by his Sicilian Majesty to this object.——In Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his Majesty's exertions in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been hitherto frustrated. The consummate skill, prudence, and perseverance of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, and the discipline and determined bravery of the officers and men under his command, have been conspicuously displayed throughout the whole of the campaign. The effect of those distinguished qualities, in inspiring confidence and energy into the troops of his Majesty's allies, has been happily evinced by their general good conduct, and particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Busaco. And his Royal Highness commands us further to state, that he trusts you will enable him to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in the support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and his Royal Highness is persuaded that you will feel that the best interests of the British empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend.——We have it likewise in command to acquaint you, that discussions are now depending between this country and the United States of America; and that it is the earnest wish of his Royal Highness that he may find himself enabled to bring these discussions to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the maritime rights and interests of the United Kingdom.——GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—We are directed to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has given his commands that the estimates for the expenditure of the current year should be laid before you; and his Royal Highness has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that although the difficulties under which the commerce of this kingdom has laboured, have in some degree affected a part of his Majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland, yet that the revenue of

Great Britain in the last year, though unaided by any new taxation, is greater than was ever known in any preceding year. And his Royal Highness trusts to your zeal and liberality to afford his Majesty adequate supplies for the support of the great contest in which he is necessarily engaged.——MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—We are commanded by his Royal Highness to declare to you, that it is the most anxious wish of his heart, that he may be enabled to restore unimpaired into the hands of his Majesty the government of his kingdom; and that his Royal Highness earnestly prays that the Almighty may be pleased in his mercy to accelerate the termination of a calamity so deeply lamented by the whole nation, and so peculiarly afflicting to his Royal Highness himself.

101. It was hard for any one to discover in this speech any-thing at all encouraging to the Whig faction. Here are praises on the proceedings in the navy and the army; also boasting of the flourishing state of the finances; and a determination expressed to pursue the policy which the men in power have been pursuing for a long while; yet, on the mere mention of the Prince's anxious desire to be enabled to replace the authorito in the hands of his father, did the hungry Whigs and their uartisans build a hope, and proclaim the confident expectation, indeed, that the PRINCE detested his Ministers, and sighed for the moment when he should be able to get out of their hands, though that same moment would take from him the whole of the kingly powers for an indefinite length of time, and perhaps for ever! Even the slender circumstance of the speech having been made by commission instead of having been made in person, was seized hold of as a proof, and a strong proof, that the Prince abhorred his Ministers; and it was actually asserted most industriously through all the prints of the Whigs, that he never would *disgrace his lips* by uttering a speech written by such Ministers.

102. Thus, with regard to the political parties and intrigues, things went on until the month of January, 1812. We shall, by-and-by, have to observe upon the events of the war during this year, and upon the other measures deeply affecting the country; but we must first pursue this grand party-intrigue to its upshot. In the month of January 1812, rumours began to be afloat respecting the intentions of the PRINCE with regard to his ministers. Until now all had been confident expectation on the part of the Whigs, who had during ten or eleven preceding months looked upon themselves as the real possessors of the places and pensions, and only kept out of the apparent possession merely to indulge the excessive and admirable filial feelings of the PRINCE, and that too for a short space of time. But the time was now at hand when they were to be undeceived. During the past year, the Marquis of WELLESLEY, who was secretary of state for foreign affairs, had, the public were told, tendered his resignation, and that the PRINCE had desired him to keep the seals of office till the expiration of the restrictions. This was regarded as conclusive in favour of the expected change, and the Whigs at their gambling-houses had a sort of general carouse in anticipation of their triumph. On the 13th of February, however, 1812, during a debate relating to the then dispute with America, a Whig member having let fall some expressions predicting a speedy destruction of the ministers' power, PERCEVAL answered that "the "golden dreams of his opponents would, he "imagined, end by producing the mortifica-"tion usually attendant on all such dreams." This was an ominous sign. It threw the whole party into consternation. They rallied again on the fifteenth, and went so far as to tell the public that Mr. Perceval had explained away his words. On the 17th however, the whole town began to perceive that the ministers were to retain their places. Still there was a story about overtures to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE; and the public were in a state of uncertainty as to the real facts till the 19th, when the following letters, the one from the PRINCE to the Duke of YORK, and the answer through the Duke from Lords GREY and GRENVILLE, came forth, and pronounced the doom of the unfortunate Whigs.

(*To be continued.*)

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs. 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be*

sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lb., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm *at Michaelmas*, I could have *no Corn there*; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw, The TOM TIT has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is "*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*" The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The *great use* of this corn is to *the labourers*. On *ten rods* of ground I have, this *very adverse year*, growed *eight bushels of shelled corn*; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of *seven or eight score*. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would *fat a good large hog*; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to *distribute a little* seed amongst the labourers. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I will give them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 *ears of the corn* amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Es-*

sex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and *Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have *bacon* to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 *ears* amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my *particular* regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, *whom I know*, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) *along with each ear of corn*. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1*s.* A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the BOOK, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2*s.* 6*d.*; which is called a TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

MARCH 31.—BOND, B., & S. PATTISALL, Change-alley, Cornhill, bankers.

MARCH 31.—CLUTTERBUCK, W., Woosler's-brook, Gloucestershire, shear maker.

MARCH 30.—FRANCIS, E. H., Wandsworth, schoolmaster.

MARCH 31.—SANDS, R., Brewers-street St. Pancras, engraver.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

GEDDES, J., George-town, Demerara, and Gracechurch-street, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BYWATER, D., Baker-street, Clerkenwell, cement merchant.
GRAVESON, G., Bradford, Yorks., ironmonger.
HALL, J., & H. GERRISH, Bristol, grocers.
HAWKINS, J., Bristol, grocer.
HIGGINS, P., Scarborough, Yorks., miller.
JONES, J. H., Gutter-lane, warehouseman.
SEWELL, W., Brewer-street, Pimlico, stable-keeper.
STRUTTON, G., Mitre-court, Fleet-street, tavern-keeper.
SOUTHERN, J., Manchester, wine-dealer.
TURBERVILLE, T., Worcester, grocer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 5, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

APRIL 5.—BERTHON, B., Kingsland-rd., coal-merchant.

APRIL 2.—COCKILL, T., Littletown, Yorkshire, dyer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SPURRIER, W. J., Poole, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BOND, B., and S. Pattisal, Change-alley, Cornhill, bankers,
DENMAN, E., Windsor-terrace, City-road, jeweller.
GINEVER, T., Arundel-st., Panton-sq., tailor.
OLDHAM, T., Manchester and Garrison, Derbyshire, calico-printer.
PEARSE, J., Chulmleigh, Devonshire, linen-draper.
PENNER, T. E., Bristol, currier.
STRICKLAND, E. R., Coventry, chemist.
TASKER, C., Liverpool, joiner.
WALKER, H., Lancaster, cabinet-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 4.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat and barley, English and foreign oats, English and foreign rye, beans, peas, and seeds, limited; of foreign wheat and barley; and English malt and flour moderately good. From Ireland there has been no arrivals. Our market of to-day, as is generally the case on holiday Mondays, was but thinly attended by buyers; whence the trade was, throughout, very dull.—With wheat, barley, beans, peas, flour, malt, and rye, at little, if any variation, from last week's prices; with oats at an advance of from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter. Sainfoin seed looks considerably upwards; clover seed a little downwards. Prices of other seeds stationary.

Wheat	54s. to 67s.
Rye	36s. to 42s.
Barley	30s. to 36s.
——— fine	35s. to 46s.
Peas, White	38s. to 41s.
——— Boilers	43s. to 48s.
——— Grey	36s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 46s.
——— Tick	36s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 33s.
—— Poland	26s. to 30s.
—— Feed	23s. to 28s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 48s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	43s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new	118s. 6d. to —s. 6d.
Pork, Mess, new	63s. to 65s. 0d. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	104s. 110s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	110s. to —
——— Cork	100s. to 105s.
——— Limerick	104s. to 105s.
——— Waterford	96s. to 104s.
——— Dublin	100s. to 102s.
Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 84s.
——— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	50s. to 56s.
——— Edam	46s. to 50s.
——— Gouda	44s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—April 4.

This day's market exhibited throughout a limited supply. The trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, with beef and mutton at a depression of 2*d.*, veal from 6*d.* to 10*d.* per stone; with lamb and pork at barely Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,203; Sheep and Lambs, 13,960; Calves, 80; Pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 8.

The supplies are small, with the exception of Foreign Wheat, of which there is a large quantity. The prices of the best samples the same as on Monday, all other descriptions rather cheaper.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	—	77⅛	77⅛	78⅛	78⅜	78⅛

With the present Register are printed the Titles and Contents to Vols. 67, 68, 69, and 70, which I print in this form that they may be sent into the country free of expense, thus enabling Gentlemen to have their sets bound up. The Titles form the middle eight pages of this number, and may be cut out without interfering with its arangement.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3*s.* bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6*s.*

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14*s.* bound in boards.

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Greenhouses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6*s.*

7. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5*s.*

8. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5*s.*

9. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15*s.*

10. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d.*

11. POOR MAN'S FRIEND. A new edition. Price 8*d.*

12. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* boards.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4*s.* 6*d.* The Price of the second volume 3*s.* 6*d.*

N.B. A royal octavo edition, on fine paper, and in extra boards, price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

14. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* in bds.

15. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

Just Published, price 2s. 6d. sewed,

THE COTTAGER'S OWN BOOK, with a Preface by John Denson, Day Labourer at Waterbeach.

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.